

Message Text

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MOSCOW ENMOD MESSAGE NUMBER TWO

E. O. 11652: XGDS 3

TAGS: PARM, UR, US, OEXD

SUBJ: ENMOD NEGOTIATIONS: NOVEMBER 2 MEETING

DEPT: PLEASE PASS ACDA

REF: STATE 239983

SUMMARY: US DELEGATION, IN TWO ENMOD PLENARIES NOVEMBER 2, SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH AREAS OF ACTUAL OR POTENTIAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN US AND USSR. SOVIETS RAISED DISCREPANCY WITH US VIEWS PRIMARILY IN CONNECTION WITH SOVIET DESIRE FOR DETAILED LIST OF PROHIBITED ENMOD ACTIVITIES IN ANY FUTURE AGREEMENT. SOVIETS ALSO EXPRESSED PREFERENCE FOR R AND D BAN AND MULTI-LATERAL AGREEMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. FEDOROV OPENED SESSION, MORNING NOVEMBER 2, WITH REQUEST THAT MEMORANDUM RECORDING WORK OF CURRENT ENMOD EXPLORATORY TALKS (NOT FOR PUBLICATION) BE PREPARED BEFORE FINAL SESSION TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5. DAVIES AGREED. BEGINNING SUNDAY,

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NOVEMBER 3, TWO MEMBERS FROM EACH DELEGATION WILL ESTABLISH

JOINT WORKING GROUP TO DRAFT FINAL MEMORANDUM.

2. DAVIES MADE MAJOR STATEMENT WHICH SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH AREAS OF ACTUAL OR POTENTIAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN US AND SOVIET DELEGATIONS. DAVIES EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT US DEFINITION OF MILITARY ENMOD TECHNIQUES UNDER DISCUSSION -- "THOSE TECHNIQUES INVOLVING RELEASE OR MANIPULATION OF NATURAL PROCESSES OR FORCES FOR PURPOSES OF DESTRUCTION OR DISRUPTION AND DIRECTED AGAINST ADVERSARY" -- WAS BASICALLY ACCEPTABLE TO SOVIETS. DAVIES AVERRED THAT BOTH SIDES BELIEVED THAT "USE OF RELEVANT ENMOD TECHNIQUES IN A WARLIKE OR HOSTILE SENSE SHOULD BE PROHIBITED EVEN IF NO OTHER MILITARY OPERATIONS, OR 'WAR' EXISTS." DAVIES CONFIRMED HOPEFUL AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIDES THAT FUTURE PROHIBITED ENMOD TECHNIQUES WOULD BE THOSE "WHICH COULD HAVE WIDESPREAD, LONG-LASTING OR SEVERE EFFECTS." EXCLUDED FROM CONSIDERATION OF LIMITS "ARE THOSE ACTIVITIES WHICH ARE OF SMALL-SCALE OR SHORT-TERM, OR WHICH WOULD NOT HAVE SEVERE EFFECTS." DAVIES CONCLUDED THAT ENVIRONMENT INCLUDES THE ATMOSPHERE, OCEANS, AND LAND MASSES. SOVIETS DID NOT STATE ACCEPTANCE OF THESE POSITIONS.

3. DAVIES INDICATED AWARENESS OF SOVIET VIEWS AS EXPRESSED IN UNGA DRAFT CONVENTION AND SOVIET WISH TO HAVE MULTI-LATERAL TREATY. DAVIES INDICATED THAT DELEGATION NOT PREPARED TO DRAFT TREATY AND THAT, WHILE MULTILATERAL ACCORD WAS POSSIBLE OUTCOME OF EVENTUAL CCD DISCUSSION OF ENMOD, US VIEW WAS THAT PRECISE FORM OF ANY FUTURE AGREEMENT SHOULD NOT BE PREJUDGED. BILATERAL COORDINATION OF SOVIET AND US VIEWS BEFORE ANY CCD DISCUSSION WOULD, OF COURSE, BE HELPFUL.

4. DAVIES SAID THAT US VIEW THAT POSSIBLE LIMITATIONS SHOULD BE ON USES HAVING "WIDESPREAD, LONG-LASTING, OR SEVERE" EFFECTS HAS BEARING ON VERIFICATION. DEGREE OF VERIFICATION IS RELATED TO SCALE OF ACTIVITY, AND VERIFICATION POSSIBILITIES DECREASE AS SIZE, DURATION OR SEVERITY OF ACTIVITY BECOMES SMALLER AND VICE VERSA. VERIFICATION OF BROAD PROHIBITION OF R AND D WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE.

5. DAVIES CONCLUDED BY INVITING SOV DEL FOR FURTHER BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON AT MUTUALLY CONVENIENT TIME. THERE
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WOULD ALSO BE MULTILATERAL CONTACTS AT UN AND CCD AS WELL.

6. FEDOROV ASKED IF US WISHED TO HAVE FORMAL BILATERAL AGREEMENT OR SIMPLY COORDINATION OF VIEWPOINTS. DAVIES INDICATED THAT END PRODUCT OF US-SOVIET TALKS WAS NOT YET CLEAR, BUT THAT COORDINATION OF US AND SOVIET VIEWS WAS NECESSARY ANTECEDENT TO ANY FINAL OUTCOME.

7. FEDOROV QUESTIONED DAVIES ON WHETHER US OPPOSED TO INCLUSION OF R AND D IN FUTURE AGREEMENT. DAVIES CONFIRMED THIS STATING THAT PROHIBITION OF USE IS ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE OF US POSITION. FEDOROV SAID SOVIET SIDE DISAGREED, BUT UNDERSTOOD US VIEWPOINT.

8. FEDOROV ASKED DAVIES ABOUT MEANING OF US TERM "ADVERSARY" (SEE PARA 2) IN A NON-WAR SITUATION. DAVIES REPLIED THAT "ADVERSARY" WAS "OBJECT (E.G. RECIPIENT) OF DESTRUCTIVE MEASURES." FEDOROV, BECAUSE OF CONCEPTUAL DIFFICULTY, INDICATED SOME RESERVATION TO TERM "ADVERSARY." DAVIES AGREED MORE WORK NEEDED ON THIS DEFINITIONAL QUESTION.

9. FEDOROV ASKED WHETHER "NEAR SPACE" WOULD BE CONSIDERED BY AMERICAN SIDE AS PART OF ATMOSPHERE. DAVIES STATED THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO SAY WHERE ATMOSPHERE ENDED, NEVERTHELESS, AREAS OF "NEAR SPACE" COULD BE COVERED BY ENMOD LIMITATIONS.

10. FEDOROV SUGGESTED THAT "HOSTILE" ACTIONS INCLUDED THOSE ENMOD ACTS WHICH WERE UNWANTED OR WHICH BOTHERED OR INFLICTED DAMAGE ON OTHER STATE. DAVIES REPLIED THAT, WHILE THRUST OF FEDOROV POINT WAS APPROPRIATE, MORE WORK WAS REQUIRED ON DEFINING NATURE OF "HOSTILE" ACTIVITY. FEDOROV FURTHER SUGGESTED THAT STATE WHICH WAS SUBJECTED TO ENMOD TECHNIQUES SHOULD BE THE ONE TO JUDGE WHETHER ANY DAMAGE INFLICTED AND COULD THEN RAISE COMPLAINT. DAVIES POINTED OUT THAT FALSE CLAIMS COULD ARISE. FEDOROV AGREED BUT SAID FALSE CLAIMS COULD BE OBIATED BY REQUIREING SUBMISSION OF PROOF. FEDOROV ADDED THAT, AS MENTIONED IN SOVIET DRAFT CONVENTION, UN SECURITY COUNCIL WAS APPROPRIATE PLACE TO LODGE ENMOD COMPLAINTS. DAVIES SAID MATTER REQUIRED MORE DETAILED DISCUSSION.

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11. FEDOROV REPEATEDLY PROBED US VIEWS ON ADVISABILITY OF SPECIFYING ENMOD TECHNIQUES TO BE PROHIBITED. FEDOROV SUGGESTED THAT GENERAL ENMOD PROHIBITION COULD BE ESTABLISHED, WHICH COULD BE SUPPLEMENTED BY ILLUSTRATIVE, THOUGH NOT NECESSARILY EXHAUSTIVE, LISTING OF BANNED TECHNIQUES. FEDOROV'S ILLUSTRATIVE SPECIFIC EXAMPLES INCLUDED BAN ON CLIMATE CHANGE, PRECIPITATION CHANGE, OZONE MODIFICATION, AND IONOSPHERIC DISTURBANCE. DAVIES REITERATED US RESERVATIONS REGARDING POINT-BY-POINT LISTING AND SUGGESTED THAT BASIC CRITERIA OF "LONG LASTING, WIDESPRED OR SEVERE EFFECTS" COULD BE REFINED AND MADE MORE SPECIFIC TO IMPART SUBSTANTIVE SIGNIFICANCE TO GENERALLY WORDED PROHIBITION. FEDOROV PERSISTED, HOWEVER, IN ADVISABILITY OF DETAILED LISTING OF BANNED TECHNIQUES.

12. AFTER SEDUNOV TOOK FLOOR AND DISCUSSED NATURE OF SOVIET WEATHER MOD PROGRAM, PARTICULARLY HAIL SUPPRESSION, MORNING SESSION ADJOURNED.

13. DAVIES OPENED AFTERNOON SESSION AND TURNED FLOOR OVER TO BIRD WHO DESCRIBED US WEATHER MOD PROGRAM. IN ANSWER TO SOVIET QUESTIONS BIRD INDICATED THAT (A) RESULTS OF US HURRICANE MODIFICATION EXPERIMENTATION WERE PRELIMINARY AND SECRET

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UNCERTAIN, AND (B) THAT COMMISSION APPOINTED TO STUDY INFLUENCE OF CLOUD SEEDING ON RAPID CITY FLOOD REPORTED THAT SEEDING WAS UNRELATED TO SUBSEQUENT FLOODING. SALMON FOLLOWED WITH STATEMENT ON ADVISABILITY OF AVOIDING OVERLAP OF ENMOD ACCORD WITH OTHER ARMS CONTROL AND POLLUTION ARRANGEMENTS. BARAZ SPOKE ON FORM OF POSSIBLE ENMOD AGREEMENTS. GLASSMAN DELIVERED STATEMENT ON ADVISABILITY OF COMMON SOVIET-US APPROACH TO ANY MULTILATERAL CONSIDERATION OF ENMOD. JOHNSON DESCRIBED NECESSITY FOR ANY ENMOD ACCORD TO CONTAIN TRULY EFFECTIVE

PROHIBITIONS AND NOT BE STRICTLY HORTATORY.

14. FEDOROV, APPARENTLY RESPONDING TO US "EFFECTIVENESS" POINT, INDICATED THAT EVIDENCE OF WEATHER MOD COULD USUALLY ONLY BE OBTAINED WITH SAMPLING OVER WIDE AREA. HE THEN SAID, HOWEVER, THAT US SHOULD LOOK AT NEGOTIATING HISTORY OF LTBT FROM 1959 TO 1963 TO SEE THAT INSISTENCE ON DETAILED INSPECTION MEASURES COULD BE A FRUITLESS AND UNNECESSARY OBSTACLE TO AGREEMENT. FEDOROV ADDED THOUGHT THAT, IF PROHIBITED TECHNIQUES COULD BE SPECIFIED, IT WOULD BE EASIER TO FOCUS ON ANY VERIFICATION NEEDS.

15. DAVIES AGAIN SUGGESTED THAT MORE PRECISE DEFINITIONS OF (A) ENVIRONMENT, (B) TYPES OF RESULTS OF ENMOD ACTIVITIES, (C) WIDESPREAD, LONG-LASTING, OR SEVERE EFFECTS, AND (D) ACTIVITIES EXCLUDED FROM PROHIBITION WOULD OBVIATE NEED FOR DETAILED LIST OF BANNED ACTIVITIES. FEDOROV CONTINUED, HOWEVER, TO STRESS NEED FOR LIST OF BANNED ACTIVITIES. (PRECIPITATION MODIFICATION WAS USED REPEATEDLY AS EXAMPLE OF SUGGESTED BANNED ACTIVITY.) FEDOROV, IN PROBABLY INDICATION OF POLITICAL INTENTION OF SOVIET INSISTENCE ON LISTING BANNED ACTIVITIES, SAID THAT ANY ENMOD AGREEMENT WOULD BE READ BY "HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE" AND LISTING OF BANNED TECHNIQUES WOULD MAKE AGREEMENT MEANINGFUL TO THEM.

16. AFTER BUDYKO SPOKE "UNOFFICIALLY" ON SOVIET STUDY OF CLIMATE MODIFICATION, DAVIES POINTED OUT, FOR SECOND TIME, THAT US GOVERNMENT HAD UNILATERALLY RENOUNCED HOSTILE USE OF CLIMATE MODIFICATION TECHNIQUES, SHOULD THEY COME TO BE DEVELOPED. (AFTER PLENARY, MFA DELEGATE KAPRALOV QUESTIONED CORDEN ON RENUNCIATION. CORDEN POINTED OUT JULY 1972 STATEMENT BY STATE DEPT REP POLLACK AT PELL HEARINGS, AND DAVIES
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STATEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 1974 AT FRASER HEARINGS.)

17. PRELIMINARY DRAFT MEMORANDA BY EACH SIDE ON RESULTS OF CURRENT DISCUSSIONS EXCHANGED. SUBSTANTIVE SECTION OF SOVIET DRAFT DEALS WITH NECESSITY OF JOINT SOVIET-US "INITIATIVE" TO ACHIEVE INTERNATIONAL ENMOD AGREEMENT. US DRAFT SEEKS TO ESTABLISH AGREEMENT ON DEFINITION OF ENMOD ACTIVITIES UNDER DISCUSSION (PER STATE 239983) AND CRITERIA OF "WIDESPREAD, LONG-LASTING OR SEVERE EFFECTS." DELEGATION, NOVEMBER 3, WILL ANALYZE BOTH DRAFT MEMORANDA AND BEGIN WORKING GROUP DISCUSSION WITH SOVIETS ON AGREED TEXT.

18. SESSION ENDED WITH SOVIET DELEGATION PROVIDING CHAMPAGNE AND CAKE IN BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE TO DAVIES.
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